

## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR KS

SUBJECT: ROKG EMERGENCY MEASURE

REF: STATE 146393

SUMMARY: I MET JUNE 23 ALONE WITH PRESIDENT PARK AND HIS INTERPRETER TO EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT IMPACT ON US OF ROKG EMERGENCY MEASURE (EM) NO. 9 AND OTHER STEPS AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL. PRESIDENT PARK REACTED CALMLY TO APPROACH, MAKING VIGOROUS AND EXTENDED DEFENSE OF EMERGENCY MEASURES ALONG PREVIOUS LINES. WHILE EXPRESSING UNDERSTANDING OF SECRETARY'S MOTIVES IN RAISING THIS ISSUE AND RECOGNIZING PRESSURES IN US ON ADMINISTRATION, PARK STATED FIRMLY HIS INTENTION TO CONTINUE E.M.9 FOR PRESENT. AT SAME TIME, HE SAID E.M.9 WOULD NOT CONTINUE FOREVER AND WOULD BE ENDED IF SITUATION SUFFICIENTLY STABILIZED IN ROK. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER I HAD PRESENTED US VIEWS DRAWN VERY PRECISELY FROM REFTEL, PRESIDENT PARK EXPANDED AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH ON HIS REASONS FOR UNDERTAKING AND MAINTAINING EMERGENCY DECREE 9. GIVEN VERY SERIOUS THREAT TO KOREAN NATIONAL SECURITY, HE CONSIDERS IT MOST IMPORTANT AT PRESENT TIME TO MAINTAIN A FIRM DEFENSE POSTURE WHICH REQUIRES UNITY AND CONSENSUS AMONG THE KOREAN PEOPLE. FIRM DOMESTIC  
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MEASURES ARE NEEDED TO PREVENT CONFUSION IN THE SOCIAL

ORDER.

2. IN REVIEWING BACKGROUND OF E.M.9 PARK ARGUED THAT, AFTER THE FALL OF VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA, A NATIONAL CONSENSUS WAS LACKING IN KOREA AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY WAS PREVALENT. HE COULD NOT EFFECTIVELY COPE WITH NATIONAL DIVISIVENESS AND CONFUSION UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. AGITATION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND FOR AMENDMENT OF THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION CONTINUED UNCHECKED ON THE PART OF POLITICAL ELEMENTS, STUDENTS AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS. PARK FEARED THAT THE DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION AND RESULTANT INSTABILITY WOULD SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. AFTER AGONIZING CONSIDERATION OF VARIOUS MEASURES, HE DECIDED THAT HE COULD NO LONGER SUSTAIN NATIONAL DIVISIVENESS.

3. PARK POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD HOPED THAT THE CRITICS OF THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION WOULD ACCEPT THE MAJORITY JUDGMENT IN SUPPORT OF IT ONE IT HAD BEEN RE-EXAMINED IN THE FEBRUARY 12 REFERENDUM. BUT, EVEN BEFORE THE REFERENDUM, THE OPPOSITION STATED THAT IT WOULD NOT ACCEPT ITS RESULTS AND, AFTER THE REFERENDUM, AGITATION FOR AMENDMENT CONTINUED UNCHECKED. HE THEREFORE DECIDED TO PROMULGATE E.M.9 TO END FURTHER CONFUSION, DISORDER AND NATIONAL DIVISIVENESS. BY THIS ACTION, THE DECISION OF THE MAJORITY WOULD BE RESPECTED BY ALL AND STABILITY WOULD BE ACHIEVED.

4. PARK CONSIDERED THAT HE HAD ACHIEVED HIS OBJECTIVES. HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO CONTINUE FOREVER E.M.9 AND WOULD END IT IF THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN KOREA IS SUFFICIENTLY STABILIZED. HOWEVER HE DOES NOT CONSIDER THIS WISE AT THE PRESENT TIME SINCE IT WOULD IMMEDIATELY LEAD TO A RESURGENCE OF PRESSURE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AND DISORDER.

5. PARK POINTED OUT THE NORTH KOREANS, IN FURTHERANCE OF THEIR OBJECTIVES, ARE USING THE CHOSEN SOREN GROUP  
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(PRO-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION IN JAPAN) AND AGENTS INSIDE SOUTH KOREA TO STIR UP AGITATION AND DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND DRIVE THE GOVERNMENT INTO A CORNER. GIVEN COMMUNIST DETERMINATIONS TO UTILIZE INTERNAL DIVISIVENESS, HE REITERATED HIS CONVICTION THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO END E.M.9 NOW. HE BELIEVES THAT, DESPITE THE CHALLENGES OF THE OPPOSITION, THE MAJORITY OF KOREANS SUPPORT THESE STRONG MEASURES AND

WANT TO PREVENT SOCIAL CONFUSION AND DISORDER. GIVEN THE CHOISE, THE MAJORITY AGREE ON THE NEED FOR A PARTIAL RESTRAIN OF FREEDOM AND CIVIL LIBERTIES, RATHER THAN TO PERISH DUE TO DIVISIVENESS AND DISORDER. IN FACT HE IS CONVINCED THAT A LARGER MAJORITY WOULD SUPPORT THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION NOW THAN WAS THE CASE IN FEBRUARY.

6. IN FURTHER JUSTIFICATION OF HIS POSITION PARK CITED THAT A MAJOR REASON FOR THE VIETNAM COLLAPSE WAS THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT AGITATION, PLACING THE SOUTH VIETNAM GOVERNMENT IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION. HE DOES NOT WISH TO REPEAT THIS EXPERIENCE IN KOREA. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THE DIFFICULTIES OF ACHIEVING DEMOCRACY OVERNIGHT IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WHERE THERE IS NO PAST BASIS FOR "IDEAL DEMOCRACY". HE MENTIONED THE LACK OF SUCCESS FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE PHILIPPINES, WHICH WAS MUCH LONGER THAN KOREA UNDER US TUTELAGE, AS WELL AS THE FACT THAT INDONESIA LACKS DEMOCRACY AND TAIWAN WAS UNSUCCESSFUL IN DEVELOPING IT.

7. PARK SAID THAT HIS OWN OBJECTIVE IS TO BUILT A DEMOCRACY "STEP BY STEP", RECOGNIZING THAT HE CAN NOT ACHIEVE THE IDEAL DEMOCRACY GIVEN THE DIVISION OF SOUTH KOREA AND THE THREAT FROM THE NORTH. PAST EFFORTS IN KOREA TO DEVELOP DEMOCRACY HAD ONLY LED TO CONFUSION AND DIVISIVENESS.

8. PARK SAID THAT HE RECOGNIZES THE STRENGTH OF PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL CRITICISM OF HIS RESTRAINT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT HE BELIEVES THAT THIS CRITICISM IS A RESULT OF A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE TRUE SITUATION IN KOREA AND PARTICULARLY THE DIFFERENCES  
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BETWEEN KOREA AND THE US. IT IS UNREASONABLE TO IMPOSE US STANDARDS ON KOREA. HE SAID THAT HE WILL DO HIS BEST TO PERSUADE THE AMERICAN CRITICS AND GIVE THEM A TRUE APPRECIATION, BUT E.M.9 CANNOT BE LIFTED AT THE PRESENT STAGE WITHOUT SERIOUS DETRIMENT TO KOREA'S NATIONAL SECURITY.

9. IN CONCULSION, PARK ASKED ME TO ASSURE THE SECRETARY THAT HE UNDERSTANDS HIS MOTIVES IN RAISING THE ISSUE OF E.M.9 AND THE PRESSURES BEING PLACED UPON THE SECRETARY BY DOMESTIC US CRITICS. HE VALUES THE ADVICE RECEIVED AND WISHED TO MAKE EASIER THE TASK OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN SUPPORTING KOREAN SECURITY. HE WOULD PREFER NOT TO EMBARRASS OR HURT THE

EFFORTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, BUT HE FEELS THAT HE  
MUST PURSUE HIS CURRENT INTERNAL POLICIES  
FOR THE PRESENT. HE ADDED FURTHER THAT THE THREAT  
OF THE AMERICAN CRITICS TO CUT OFF AID TO KOREA  
DEEPLY HURTS KOREAN NATIONAL PRIDE.

10. I MADE VERY FEW INTERJECTIONS DURING PARK'S  
PRESENTATION, EXCEPT TO REITERATE THAT HE  
UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS HIS DOMESTIC ACTIONS CAUSE  
IN GAINING SUPPORT FOR OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS TO ASSURE  
ROK SECURITY, AND TO POINT OUT THAT MANY AMERICAN  
CRITICS, CONTRARY TO PARK'S IMPRESSION, RECOGNIZE THAT DEMOCRACY  
AS IT IS KNOWN IN THE US COULD NOT BE INSTANTLY IMPOSED ON  
KOREA. COMMENT FOLLOWS  
SEPTEL.  
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